Vol. 11, No. 5

IN THIS ISSUE

Council Minutes . . . . . . . p. 1
"The State of the Movement" by John Faylor . . . . . . . p. 2
"Storm Signals Ahead" by Ilene Rosen . . . . . . . p. 3
Gadfly Theater Review . . . . . . . p. 4
"What Does S.D.S. Mean To You" by Rik Souder . . . . . . . p. 5
Letters to the Editors:
From Alice Raphael . . . . . . . p. 5
From John H. McDonald . . . . . . . p. 6

Due to the lengthy and important letters received this week, the editors have postponed publication of Letters from Flame until next week.

COUNCIL RECOMMENDS S.D.S LETTER TO ADMINISTRATION: OBSERVER BUDGET POSTPONED.

Councilman Trepper moved Monday night that Council recommend to the Administration that a copy of the letter drawn up by the Students for a Democratic Society be attached to S.D.S. 109 upon request of the individual student.

Councilwoman Boldt asked if the letter would be attached only if the student asked that his academic rating not be submitted. Bruce Lieberman, co-chairman of S.D.S who presented the letter, said that the latter could be sent with or without the class standing.

Dean Hodgkinson said that to send out such a letter stating that the marking system was invalid, would then invalidate the class standing of a student who was doing well at Bard. He said that the letter should state that, in the opinion of that particular student, the marking system of Bard places his academic rating in jeopardy.

Councilwoman Raphael asked if Mr. Lieberman thought that the letter would have any effect on the draft boards. Mr. Lieberman said that was not the important point of the letter; what was most important was formulating the most flexible position possible. The student still has the choice of including or not including his class standing; use of the letter, however, avoided the statement that "Mr. X does not want his grades sent in" which was tantamount to suicide. Mr. Lieberman thought there was nothing inequitable in the letter, and nothing the Administration should not stand by.

The Dean said that since the last paragraph made it clear that in the opinion of the given student,
"his scholastic ranking is an inequitable method of determining his status within the Selective Service system," he would be happy to consider the letter in light of that last paragraph.

The motion passed 6-0-3.

The Observer's request for its budget was postponed again this week. Editor Harvey Fleetwood blamed a "series of misunderstandings which arose in the past week over the role of Council and the Administration in financing the newspaper." Mr. Fleetwood said that would present the budget next week after meeting with the resident again. He said that he planned to publish one more issue, bringing the total number of five issues this semester, without benefit of budget, and that he was personally assuming responsibility for paying for these issues.

Councilman Tromper asked what had become of last year's Senior Class gift of birth control information. The mayor said that there had been a meeting of interested persons and that it was thought that the pamphlets might be distributed from the infirmary. Chairman Kreiger said that when some final decision was reached it would be brought before Council.

Mr. Fleetwood asked what had happened to the committee formed last semester to look into the hiring of a student-selected professor.

Chairman Kreiger said that the committee had met several times last semester and after much discussion felt that it could come to no conclusion. He said that they had written to other colleges and no information had been forthcoming.

Mr. Lieberman said that 333 was tackling this question in the next two weeks and would contribute significantly to any such discussion.

Treasurer McClure moved that §442 be granted to the Literature Club pending the approval of their Constitution by student-elected professors.

The motion passed 9-0-0.

Miss Boldt moved that §450 be granted to the Entertainment Committee to bring up Jean Shepherd for the afternoon of October 30.

Mr. Donald Michael, chairman of the Entertainment Committee, said that Mr. Shepherd usually got §625.

Mr. McClure recommended voting against this measure and urged Mr. Michaels to rearrange his schedule to fit Mr. Shepherd in.

The motion failed 1-7-1.

Miss Boldt asked the Dean why it was the policy to have the road to Hobbs' house run the long way around rather than through the Gatehouse.

Councilman Lensing said that at the present the road ran right by his living room, kitchen, and practically through his bed room.

Councilman Edmunds said there had been several meetings between the Safety Committee and the RSO representative about this problem and other related safety problems.

Miss Boldt asked if it might not be possible for BGC to send a representative to Council. Chairman Kreiger said that much of this fell under the jurisdiction of Institutional Committees.

Mr. Edmunds said that a lot of discussion belongs in safety committees and that he would be happy to report back to Council.

Mr. Tromper moved $400 for the Anthropology-Sociology Club. There was no written budget and no constitution had been submitted. On these grounds, Miss Boldt moved to postpone discussion.

The motion passed 3-0-1.

Helen Rosen

EDITORIALS


The recent turn of Civil Rights rhetoric demands that we re-evaluate the aims and character of a movement that has grown from the meagre bus boycotts of 1954 to the recent proposal of a $100 Billion Dollar Freedom Budget to end Negro poverty. The phrase "Black Power" now thunders across the land, underlined in meaning but turgid in emotional suggestivity. The new doctrine has provoked a class covariance "the Movement": Black Power advocates, Stokely Carmichael and Floyd McKissick, take one side, Martin Luther King and Roy Wilkins take the other. To some, like Bayard Rustin, the dispute threatens "to ravage the entire Civil Rights Movement."

To be sure, the disagreement concerns means and ends: Carmichael proponents of racial self-interest propose that "the economic foundations of this country must be shaken... a totally different America must be born" while Martin Luther King and his associates press for desegregation as the most effective means for Negro admission to the existing American middle class.

It is not to be debated here whether the Civil Rights Movement is in fact obsolete. What should be the object of concern is whether Negroes can be served by a doctrine which postulates "black consciousness" as the means to ideological, indeed, utopian ends.

Bayard Rustin points out in September's Commentary that Stokely Carmichael's "extravagant rhetoric" about "taking over" in the districts of the South where Negroes are in the majority would mean Negro acquisition of only two Congressional seats and...
control of eighty local counties--
an advance both insignificant and impractical (the Negro Congressmen could
do nothing by themselves to reconstruct the face of America).

But most importantly, Carmichael's
notion of black consciousness" militates against white coalitional support.
Witness the dismissal of white liberal elements in SNCC as vestiges of "white
supremacy" (see Rustin in Commentary). For Carmichael, Martin Luther King and
Roy Wilkins have not only been too slow in delivering the Negro from its
"oppression", but through pressing for alliances with labor and the white lib-
eral establishment they have really embarrassed "white middle class hypo-
cracy." Carmichael's refusal to support the 1966 Civil Rights Bill stands as
a revolution within the Movement; it codifies "Black Power" in contra-
distinction from its "obsolete" parent.

If, then, "Black Power" recognizes
the "essential" blackness of its "totally different America" in estrangement from co-
alitional politics, it assumes the
form of ideological racism. Note: I distinguish it from the racist ideol-
ogy of Black Nationalism. Ideological
racism characterizes itself in the
propagation of an invented racial pride. Carmichael trumpets terms like "self-respect, pride in the his-
tory of black people." But what is
most significant--his pride has
substance only in so much as it justi-
ifies itself against grievance, a-
gainst "oppression." No one can deny
that the Negro has legitimate griev-
ances; just as do the Indians, the
Puerto Ricans, and the American Chi-
inese. Hence, racial pride is an invi-
ation, a creation, much as Hitler's cul-
tivation of "Aryan" pride found emotional justification in the myth of
"the stab in the back", or European rape at Versailles. I do not
question here the possibility of a
genuine Negro culture with traditions and institutions. But when such su-
ables are intended to bolster "racial pride" then rigorous criticism is
needed.

The Negro, I am afraid, is being
molded into service as a kind of sub-
stitute for the proletarian" of the
1930's. Puffed up "Negro culture"
endeavors to depict him much in the
same light as the old "worker". One
does see again those "mythic-sentimental attributes", as Jeffrey Ertz calls
them, "warm-hearted spontaneity, solidarity outside the law, superior
sexuality, and natural generosity." All these elements combine to form
"black consciousness". They are
inventories of derogatory that demand,"give me your freedom, and I'll give
you pride."

The Negroes today, to quote Rustin,
"are in worse economic shape, live
in worse slums, and attend more high-
segregated schools than in 1954."
The situation is worsening politically
too. The victories of Mahoney in
Maryland, and Maddox in Georgia;
the failure of the 1966 Civil Rights
Bill--all testify to America's
awakening to " racism in reverse."
Black Power and racial consciousness
do not serve the Negro. Perhaps then
the new Black Power rhetoric represen-
tiates the breakup of the old Civil
Rights Movement. If it does, then
the Negro had better prepare himself
to be the victim of a greater injustice.

John Taylor

STORY SIGNALS SHUT

The note from Eddie Linda Boldt,
dated Oct. 3, and the article in Tues-
day's Observer, indicate there are
certain winds blowing through that
great Limbo known as House residents' Committee.
HPC is, and should remain, a
closed committee. The matters that
are discussed in detail there must
remain confidential for the protection of student and committee alike. There
are certain drawbacks, however, to this
policy of silence. Word of the com-
mittee's actions filter back to each
dorm in a manner which is, at best,
erratic. Except for an occasional
memorandum from the chairman of HPC,
the only way in which the constituents of a particular House resident are
informed of the committee's activities
and "climate of opinion" is either
through the HPC's remarks (which may be colored by his opinion of a given ac-
tion), or by that good, old stand-by,
rumor.

It is evident from the two public
utterances issued approximately
within a week of each other that there
are several important problems occupying the
collective mind of HPC. The com-
mittee may have other interests besides
off-campus interassociation violations
and the abolition of curfew for senior
women but these remain deep, dark,
secrets. That concerns HPC will event-
ually concern the community; it would
be in the interests of HPC, therefore,
to alert that community as to its ac-
tions and fields of interest. The pri-
acy of its meetings must not be sepa-
rate by any of the news media.
Informing the community must be done by
the committees as a whole. Perhaps by
issuing progress reports once or twice
a semester, reports which would give
specifics and discuss in general what
has been done, or what will come to the at-
tention of HPC would help to quell rampant rumors and crystallize opinion.

How can any committee hope to
ascertain public opinion, without first
informing that public as to its actions?
Ilene Rosen

GADFLY Theater Review

Contrary to popular opinion, the Gadfly can praise as well as damn. A great deal of praise is due to the members of the drama department involved in this week's production of John Hartimer's "The Dock Brief" and August Strindberg's "Easter."

"The Dock Brief," a comedy involving only two characters, was a masterpiece of both acting and direction. Especially noteworthy was James Rosebbaum in the role of Morganhall, the aging and unsuccessful barrister. Mr. Rosebaum showed a strong flair for subtle comedy without resorting to the level of slapstick so often found in non-professional productions. Rufus Bastow's portrayal of Wolfe, the'accusation murderer, and Levin Mitzlack's direction also left little to be desired.

The second play presented, "Easter," was unfortunately not as successful as the first. Although the play is an overly contrived plot and unrealistic characters, the production was rescued from mediocrity by the performances of Christine miner as Ellenore and sponsor looze as Lindvist, both of whom played, or rather overplayed, their roles to perfection.

The major criticism of the productions as a whole is the lack of disparity between the two plays. The broad humor of "The Dock Brief" would have been more effective had it been contrasted with a serious drama, rather than the gross character exaggerations which dominate the second act of "Easter." However, in spite of this and several minor flaws, "The Dock Brief" and "Easter" provided an interesting and entertaining evening at the theater.

Julie Schick
(sunday night performance)

WHAT DOES S.D.S. WANT TO YOU?

The Bard Students for a Democatic Society have in the last two weeks been trying somehow, any way, to publicize its actions and policy. We of the GADFLY being generous souls who will listen to anyone, no matter how sick, are now giving them our charity.

On Wed., Sept. 28, S.D.S. held a meeting to determine their policy as relates to the war, the draft, and their 11 point program for the Bard community. It's been two weeks now, and while we haven't heard much about the 11 point program, we certainly have heard more than enough about the war and the draft.

To those who might not have heard, the United States is presently involved in a war, by some standards war (as yet unofficially) in Southeast Asia. S.D.S. is opposed to this war as it is "unjust and immoral." S.D.S. is also opposed to the draft as it is "a tool of this unjust war." It (the draft, not S.D.S) also leaves a person with "no choice as to how he is going to die." Now S.D.S. can isolate the draft as being a tool of only this particular war is, we suppose, self-explanatory!

All that resulted from the meeting of Sept. 28 was the adoption of a constitution, and, amid loud cries of "sabotage" (what's this, disorder in the ranks?) the adoption of a letter which S.D.S. hopes will be sent, signed by the dean to the Selective service system along with D-2, 109 a little form which tells the local draft boards a student's rank in his class and which can determine whether a student ends up at the school of his choice or in Saigon.

In order with the Hale Williams all audience to agree that what was left unsettled at this rather unsettling meeting, another meeting was set for the following week. This meeting began an attack on the two co-chairmen accused the other side present, Mr. Duff Libbey, who was diligently copying a paper in the library arrived first. Later, by half an hour. Mr. Bruce Liebman appeared wearing the proper button prominently displayed on his lapel and the meeting swung into (what we supposed was) high gear.

This meeting, at least, there were no screams of sabotage (possibly because those who were screaming at the last meeting were not present.) This time various measures for making the campus aware of the war were discussed. Mr. Libbey proposed that interested students and teachers in some way introduce the S.D.S. ideology into their respective fields, i.e., dance majors present an anti-war (or anti-draft, Please choose one) dance concert; literature majors write anti-war or anti-draft (again choose only one) literature. We suppose music majors will write even more protest songs, and all majors could compile statistics, one economics majors could keep track of war expenditures, and psycho majors could ask themselves why???

Another proposal was that stronger action both on a personal level (such as refusing to buy... something) and on the school level (like lowering the flag one day a week and replacing it with the D-2 flag) be taken. We can't help but wonder why lower the flag for only one day a week, and why
replace it with the B.U. flag of all things when it would seem a pink potlicoat would do nicely.

Later there was some talk of workshops, which people who don't want to attend SDS meetings (although we can't, for the life of us, see why anyone in his right mind would want to attend one in the first place), could attend to learn pacifism, and anti-war techniques, but in effect (well, in truth, anyway) nothing was really settled, and the meeting left off rather where it started.

As the meeting dissolved the unanswered question of co-chairman Jeff Albort's oochood in our care, "What the hell are we gonna do?"

Nik Soudor

--------------

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS:

Gentlemen:

Recently acquired by the Alboc Avengers Beautification Subcomittee was a revealing lifesize portrait of former Bardian, Wayne Livermore. The portrait by Alice Loh (Bard, '66), was executed in partial completion of her senior project requirements. Miss Loh, a student in the classical portrait tradition, used as her model for this mangum opus, a theme of Nero and the decadence of late Rome.

Mr. Livermore, known as Wayne to his friends, provided a striking characterization of the infamous tyranus. Also featured in this work are the figures of Guy Frank, Andy Frank, Paul Schneider, and Danny Friedman, and, in this reporter's opinion, Susan Veit. The other figures remain as yet unidentified. The imaginative portrayal of the human anatomy can only be attributed to the fact that few or none of the subjects posed from their depictions. In Miss Loh's words, "The only reality one can know is one's own reality."

"This painting," said an unidentified Avenger spokesmen, "has beening in the Wayne Livermore Memorial Sitting Room commuorated in the honor of their beloved brother, who was often known to haunt the Alboc byways at strange hours and was particularly fond of the room which the Avengers have dedicated to his memory. We hope," the spokesmen continued "that this will be the beginning of a major cultural center." Certainly the Avengers sentiments are compelling and the living memory of Mr. Livermore is a moving force.

In the words of one of the Avenger's, "This picture brings tears to my eyes.

The formal opening of the Livermore room will be for Friday night at 11:30 PM, B.Y.O. R.S.V.P.

The Alboc Avengers

To the Editors:

I would like to reply to the letter in particular and to the criticism leveled against BRAC and myself in general. In the first place, there is controversy over BRAC's financial situation. Although I was not prepared to give a detailed account of the summer project's expenses at the first Council meeting, as I had not been previously requested to do so, there was nothing "Little Orphan Annie" about my request for money to pay our rent and phone bill. Council has always done this in the past. I prepared a precise record of BRAC's summer expenditures which was submitted, along with a report of our activities, to Council on Oct. 3.

I would like to know precisely what the GAUDD people are upset about in regard to BRAC's money. Do you think we are financially irresponsible? If so, I refer you to our summer report, which Council found legitimate enough to reward with applause. We also have receipts which verify the report, in case you feel we are misusing the funds.

Do you object to the amount of money BRAC receives? If so, I would point out that BRAC's active membership is greater than any group on campus. I challenge Mr. Likes to "prove" that we have not the membership we claim. On a day-to-day, long term basis we have more people involved in more varied programs (Arts and Crafts, Negro History, Tutorial, Dance, theater) than any other group on campus. I do not believe that this makes BRAC superior, but I do contend that it requires a good deal of money.

Do you feel that Convocation money should not be allocated to a program such as BRAC's? If so, I reply that BRAC, like all other clubs, grow out of the interest of Bard students. There are a substantial number of dedicated people who have chosen BRAC as their "extracurricular" activity at Bard. There is no reason why Council should not fund this group as it funds other interest groups. Therefore, if Mr. Likes' suggestion of "purely voluntary contributions" or a vote on that percentage of Convocation funds should be instituted, it should be applied to all interest groups, every committee or club which receives funds.

My last question to the Gadfly staff is do you disagree with the way in which BRAC is spending its money in Kingston? Since this is the only substantive issue in regard to BRAC's money, I would like to dwell on this point.

Mr. Likes believes we are instigating racism by attempting to create racial consciousness. Let me quote Stokely Carmichael, Chairman of SNCC: "Essential to the process of organic zung Negroes to win power is the conquest of fear and the development of 'black consciousness', self-respect, pride in the history of black people, our culture and institutions." The type of racial consciousness we are speaking of has not to do with racial pride, the type of racial consciousness which Mr. Likes is self-consciously trying to instigate is the one where he is saying that nothing no one has to do but to teach a Negro in America. He says Negroes should be organized as Americans, not Negros. But to be conscious of being black in America is to be more than an American. It is to an American who was held in slavery and subjected to every kind of humiliation by a white American, merely because one is a black American. Racial con-
necessity did not cause watts -- American racial policies caused watts. riots have occurred in ghettos long before the phrase "black power" was coined.

Finally, the gadfly continually criticizes our "failure" in Kingston. Since none of them are involved in Kingston, I assume their standards for evaluating our activities are based on their own admissions. It is true that we are critical of our progress. This does not mean that we have failed. It means partially that our goals are difficult to achieve and we are honest in self-criticism. We may be short of our end goal, but we have won many important victories along the way. I suppose S.D.S is the only group which seems to fail short of its goals because it is almost the only club which presents explicit goals. But really, Mr. likes, why would we "purposely" project a piece of such size that we knew it could upset class rank? What does such a question imply? This level of attack is not worthy of the National Encourager.

I repeat the plea of Miss Krebs and Mr. Farrell: constructive criticism and debate are difficult to achieve, but sarcastic distortions and intimations, editorial comments which refer to female critics as "Sweetheart" or "Baby" are really unbecoming for a mature publication. A journal of opinion ought still to be a journal of fact, and the opposition is entitled to a little respect.

Sincerely,
Alison Raphael

To the Editors:
The draft seems to be as vital an issue as one can find being discussed among the majority of college students. The vogue of class rights enjoyed for so long has collapsed, at least among male students, by a more immediate, though certainly no less idealistic concern. The Observer seems to be share of this prime concern and accordingly printed a most sinister photograph complimenting a front page article on the Council's approval (whatever that means) of the S.D.S. letter concerning the Selective Service System. That forbidding picture seemed to form of days to come when the mailed fist would violently pound down doors and drag off innocent college students. The gravity of the whole situation demands comment.

The letter which council approved would be sent by the administration to local draft boards at the request of a student. This letter describes the uniqueness of the Bard program and explains why the evaluation of student status should be determined by the college, not by the local draft board. Even if Bard were so unique in this respect, why should the letter be sent only to the students themselves? If it means nothing, is unfair, or whatever, it seems evident that it would be so for everyone, not just for those who request that the letter be sent. How in good conscience could the administration or the student body allow students to be classified on simply the "meaningless" basis of rank, and allow others, at their own choosing, to either send the cover letter with rank, or to evade the normal procedure of classification by requesting the letter and withholding rank. Certainly the only moral thing to do would be to require everyone to withhold the rank and send the cover letter.

Is the administration, by sending the letter, officially stating its agreement with the unfairness of the system to the Bard student? If the administration maintains that the system, on account of Bard's uniqueness, is fair, then the letter should cover everyone. If the administration is not giving official sanction, neither agreeing nor disagreeing with the equity of the system, why should the college have anything to do with sending the letter?

The final paragraph of the S.D.S letter reads: "In light of these circumstances, Blank, whose form 109 is attached, does not in good conscience, feel that his scholastic ranking is an equitable method of determining his status within the Selective Service System."

Thus it is stated explicitly in the letter that the basis for the action (withholding class rank and sending the letter) is a matter of individual "feeling" and "conscience". If this is so, and if the letter does not reflect the position of the administration, thus negating any influence institutional sanction might provide, then the letter should be sent by individuals and have nothing whatever to do with the administration.

This is just one aspect of the problem under discussion. Certainly the case for Bard's uniqueness with regard to class rank and the draft is feeble. If comparisons with college at other schools are considered, public universities, for example, case just crumbles.

In closing, I would like to suggest that S.D.S. for the sake of a consistent irrationality, request that the administration send a cover letter with applications to graduate schools explaining how the grading system here is really so unique, occult, and confused, that the grades themselves, and the class ranks computed from them, are really quite meaningless and unjust.

John H. MacDonald

---NOTICE FROM THE EDITORS---

The gadfly is similar, in every way, to radio station WBAI in New York, or educational television. They are listener-and viewer-supported. We are (hope to be?) reader-supported. We cannot survive without your contributions. So far, we have collected only $29,000. This will not even pay for the insurance we have published so far. We have already been forced to postpone publication of several letters and contributions because we could not afford the extra paper and printing costs.

The gadfly is an independent journal and has pledged itself to provide a forum for the articulation of student opinion concerning issues relevant to the Bard community. In order to remain independent we have declined to seek the entirety of our financial support from any one institution on campus-- Council, Administration, or other.

We believe that we could remain independent in any case, but we would rather avoid even the temptation of becoming a "house journal" for the administration or Council.

The gadfly will cease publication if sufficient funds are not raised. We don't ask you to agree with the positions of our editors or of our contributors; but if you believe there is a need for an "opposition press", if you wish to see variety of opinion and expression at Bard...